

THE
JAYA - SAMHITĀ
i.e.
THE UR-MAHĀBHĀRAT
VOLUME-I



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GUJARAT RESEARCH SOCIETY
KHAR, MOMBAY - 400 052

PALDI, AHMEDABAD - 380 007

THE
JAYA-SAMHITĀ

i.e.

THE UR-MAHĀBHĀRATA

VOLUME I

Redactor

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GUJARAT RESEARCH SOCIETY,
Khar, Bombay-400 052 : Paldi, Ahmedabad-380 007

जयसंहिता किंवा आदिभारतम्
[पूर्वीः]

आकारकः-अध्या. केशवराम का. शास्त्री (बांभणिया), 'विद्यावाचस्पति'
मधुवन, एलिसट्रिज, अमदावाद-३८० ००६

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At the holy feet of late Doctors
V. S. Sukthankar & S. K. Belvalkar
whose dedicated life brought
out the critical edition of
the greatest Indian
Epic—the Mahābhārata.

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FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in introducing a work of sustained efforts and international merit—the *Jaya-Saṁhitā*, i.e. the nucleus of the *Mahābhārata*—which can be called the *Ur-Mahābhārata*, of about 8,800 two-line verses extracted out of 78,675 ślokas of the *Mahābhārata* (including its supplement, the *Harivamśa*), on the principles of higher criticism. According to late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, a Scandinavian Orientalist, Sören Sörenson, was the first one who found out a nucleus and extracted about 27,000 ślokas in the first instance. Sören Sörenson went further into depth and reduced that number to about 7,000 to 8,000 ślokas, as early as between 1883 and 1894 A.D. Sörenson died very young and, according to Dr. Sukthankar, no one knows what became of his work.

Prof. K.K. Shastree, Honorary Director of the Ahmedabad branch of the Gujarat Research Society, who is an experienced and reputed Sanskritist, undertook afresh the work of finding out the nucleus. Prof. Shastree spent years in independent study and succeeded in extracting a nucleus of about 8,800 two-line verses which are presented here in their original form.

As a result of devotion, deep scholarship and intense effort, Prof. Shastree has succeeded in extracting this text which is a contribution of immense value.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction that this extracted text has a well-linked narration which strictly follows the list of contents given in the 55th adhyāya of the Ādi-parvan. Thus Prof. Shastree has placed before us an authentic text of great merit.

I heartily congratulate the redactor, Prof. Shastree, for presenting such a masterly work to the oriental scholars who, I am sure, would find it most useful and interesting.

The Gujarat Research Society considers it an honour to publish this important work.

(Dr. Mrs.) Madhuri R. Shah
President, Gujarat Research Society
&

Vice-Chancellor, S.N.D.T.
Women's University, Bombay

Bambay, 400 020
January 14, 1977.

INTRODUCTION

We shall not be hesitant in accepting the opinion of late German orientalist Herman Oldenberg that "The *Mahābhārata* began its existence as a simple epic narrative. It became, in course of centuries, the monstrous chaos." Oldenberg further said that "Besides the main story there were veritable forests of small stories and besides, numberless and endless instructions about theology, philosophy, natural science, law, politics, practical and theoretical knowledge of life. A poem full of deeply significant dreamings and surmisings, delicate poetry and school-masterly platitudes full of sparkling play, of oppressive and mutually jostling masses of images, of showers of arrows of endless battles, clash after clash of death-despising heroes, of over-virtuous ideal men, of ravishing beautiful women, of terrible-tempered ascetics, of adventurous fabulous beings, of fantastic miracles—full of empty flood of words and wide, free, peeps into the order of the course of the world."

(Quoted by late Dr. V.S. Sukthankar, wide his lectures entitled 'On the Meaning of the *Mahābhārata*', pp. 1 & 125)

This was the opinion of that learned scholar after reading carefully the vulgate edition of the *Mbh.* available in his times. At present we are fortunate to have a critical edition of the same published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona including even its supplement the *Harivamśa*, yet we are not in a position to subtract a single word from that opinion. It is true that hundreds and thousands of interpolations have been cleared in the critical edition, yet we do not get a pure epic. The conclusion arrived at by the late Franz Bopp, the father of Indogermanic philology that all parts of the epic were not of the same age, is in a way no doubt quite true even in the case of the critical edition of the *Mbh.* also. Late Prof. Christian Lassen, the first European scholar, after submitting a complete analysis of the *Mbh.* endorsed the conclusions of Bopp that in the *Mbh.* there are pieces belonging to very different periods and of very different colour and content. (Wide : *Ibid*, pp. 4-5)

We are informed by late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (*Ibid*, pp. 6-7) that the striking "attempt at reconstructing the original epic was made between 1883 and 1894 by the Scandinavian scholar Sören Sörenson..... Rejecting accordingly from the Vulgate text everything appeared to him like an episode or a didactic digression, he obtained at first an edition of some 27,000 stanzas. But even this extract, he thought, included materials belonging to different epochs... This second attenuation rendered the epic to a concentrated essence of some seven or eight thousand stanzas, which seems to have satisfied the soul of Sörenson..... Sörenson's attempt at establishing the Ur-text of the *Mahābhārata* stands by itself, and experiment was, as far as I know, never repeated."

Let us, here, take in our mind the words of Dr. Sukthankar that "The *Mahābhārata* is in short a veritable chaos, containing some good and much useless matter. It is a great pity that a fine heroic poem, which may even be found to contain precious germs of ancient Indian history, should have been thus ruined by its careless custodians. But it is not quite beyond redemption. A skilful surgical operation—technically called "Higher Criticism"—could still disentangle the sub-merged "epic core" from the adventitious matter—known to textual critics as "Interpolation"—in which it lies embodied. The *Mahābhārata* Problem thus reduces itself to the discovery of criteria which will enable us to analyse the poem and to dissect out the "epic nucleus" from the spurious additions with which it is deeply incrusted. This is the "Analytic Theory" of the origin and the character of the *Mahābhārata*, which was espoused by the majority of Western critics of the Great Epic of India." (*Ibid*, pp. 10-11)

I here try to deal with the subject afresh quite on independent lines of my own.

: 1 :

We get in the *Anukramanī* sub-parvan of the *Ādi-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, a following couplet :

चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रीं चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ।
उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद् भारतं प्रोक्ष्यते त्रुष्णैः ॥ (Mbh. I.1.61)

It is quite clear that there was a *Bhārata Samhitā*, which had 24,000 ślokas as its extent when this *Anukramanī* sub-parvan came in existence, or the author of this sub-parvan had the information of a *paramāparā* that there existed such a *Samhitā* formerly and fortunately we find a conformation from no less a prominent work than the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* as it follows :

प्राचीनावीती सुमन्तु-जैमिनि-वैशंपायन-पैल-सूत्रभाष्य-भारत-महाभारताचार्याः ॥(3.4.4.)

Here the words *Bhārata* and *Mahābhārata* are distinctly found giving two separate works of particular titles. Reaching somewhat earlier, in the *Āśṭādhyāyī* of *Pāṇini*, he refers to the word 'Bhārata' also, before which the adjective 'Mahat' becomes 'Mahā' (6-2-38).* Here we have to confine ourselves to a period when, yet, Northern and Southern recensions were not afoot, the time as early as, at least, fifth century B.C. to first century B.C. What was the extent at the time of *Pāṇini* is difficult to know, but at the time of separation of both these recensions the *Mbh.* had nearly one hundred thousand ślokas as its extent, as it follows :

इदं शतसहस्रं हि श्लोकानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् ।

सत्यवत्यात्मजेनेह व्याख्यातमस्मितौजसा ॥ (Mbh. I.56.13)

Here the *Mbh.* of one hundred thousand ślokas, comprises, within it, not only 18 parvans, but the *Harivamśa*, its supplement, also. It is quite clear that in the *Parvasaṅgraha* sub-parvan the *Harivamśa* has been considered as a part comprising its two sub-parvans as it follows :

हरिवंशस्तः पर्वं पुराणं खिलसंशितम् ।

भविष्यत्वं चाप्युक्तं खिलेष्वेवाद्भुतं महत् ॥ (Mbh. I.2.69)

and अष्टादशैवमेतानि पर्वाण्युक्तान्यरोषतः ।

खिलेषु हरिवंशश्च भविष्यन्ते प्रकीर्तिम् ॥ (Mbh. I.2.232)

As I have said above, at present we are very much fortunate to get authentic edition of the *Mbh.* and the *Harivamśa* through the

* महान् त्रीह्यपराह्णगृष्णिष्वासजावालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौवप्रद्वदेषु ।

laborious efforts of the prominent scholars at the B.O.R. Institute of Poona. In the critical editions of those two works, the marked number of ślokas is as it follows :

1. Ādi	6,205
2. Sabhā	2,390
3. Āranyaka	12,318
4. Virāṭa	1,824
5. Udyoga	6,063
6. Bhīṣma	5,402
7. Drona	8,142
8. Karna	3,871
9. Śalya	3,315
10. Sauptika	772
11. Stri	530
12. Śānti	10,856
13. Anuśāsana	6,536
14. Āśvamedhika	2,743
15. Āśramavāsika	1,062
16. Mausala	273
17. Mahāprasthāna	106
18. Svargārohaṇa	194
19. Hariavāṁśa	6,073
	78,675

Here it is to be clearly understood that we have to give up the idea of one hundred thousand ślokas and to confine with the extent 78,675 marked ślokas.

Is there any specific clue to find out a *Bhārata* of 24,000 ślokas ? The answer will be in affirmative as we get a list of contents in the 55th adhyāya of Ādi-parvan. We find following ślokas at the end of this adhyāya :

ततश्चतुर्दशे वर्षे याचमानाः स्वकं वसु ।
नालभन्त महाराज ततो युद्धमवर्तत ॥३७
ततस्ते सर्वमुस्ताद्य हत्वा दुर्योधनं नृपम् ।
राज्यं विद्रुतभूयिष्ठं प्रत्यपद्यन्तं पाण्डवाः ॥३८ ॥

एवमेतत् पुरा वृत्तं तेषामक्लिष्टकारिणाम् ।
मेदो राज्यविनाशश्च जयश्च जयतां वर ॥३९

It means that the poem ends at the victory of Pāṇḍavas causing Duryodhana's death. And no wonder that there are conclusive ślokas found in the Śalya-parvan at the end of its 61st adhyāya as it follows :

शिविरं समनुपाप्य कुरुराजस्य पाण्डवाः ।
अवतेर्हमहाराज रथेभ्यो रथसत्तमाः ॥७
ईषदुत्स्मयमानश्च भगवान् केशवोऽरिहा ।
परिव्यज्य च राजानं युधिष्ठिरमभाषत ॥२१
दिष्ठा जयसि कौन्तेय दिष्ठा ते शत्रवो जिताः ।
दिष्ठा गाण्डोवधन्वा च भीमसेनश्च पाण्डवः ॥२२ (Mbh. IX.61)

and so on.

Again we find entry of Yudhiṣṭhīra in Hāstīnapura in the 14th adhyāya of the Āśvamedhika-parvan (16th śloka). But the total victory should have its end when Pāṇḍavas entered the city of Hāstīnapura officially, after the completion of the Āśvamedha sacrifice as it follows :

वर्षित्वा धनधाराभिः कामै रत्नैर्धनैस्तथा ।
विपाप्मा भरतश्रेष्ठः कृतार्थः प्राविशत् पुरम् ॥४१ (Mbh. XIV.91)

Thus one sort of end is easily traceable in the place a little before the seventh portion of this gigantic poetical work begins. The *Mahābhārata* definitely paves its beginning in the 3rd Adhyāya of the Ādi-parvan as it follows :

जनमेजयः पारिक्षितः सह भ्रातृभिः कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्रमुपास्ते । तस्य भ्रातरस्यः
श्रुतसेन उग्रसेनो भीमसेन इति ॥ (Mbh. I.3.1)

Here the king Janamejaya is found sitting in a long session and in due course Pauṣya, Pauloma and Āstīka sub-parvans are afoot. At the beginning of the Arṁśāvataraṇa sub-parvan, the king Janamejaya is found sitting in a Sarpa-Satra (truly speaking in a Dīrgha-Satra—a long-term assembly as noted at the 3rd adhyāya's beginning

(i.e.=I-3-1 quoted above), where he had the chance to see the great sage Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, who favoured him to give an audience in that current session. The king was anxious to hear the events of his forefathers and requested the sage to be kind enough to narrate the same. The sage ordered Vaiśampāyana, one of his pupils, for the same. And happily we see a fresh Maṅgalaśācaraṇa very first, at the beginning of the 55th adhyāya as it follows :

गुरवे प्राणू नमस्कृत्य मनोबुद्धिसमाधिभिः ।
संपूज्य च द्विजान् सर्वास्तथान्यान् विदुषो जनान् ॥१

महर्षेः सर्वलोकेषु विश्रुतस्यास्य धीमतः ।
प्रवक्ष्यामि मतं कृत्स्नं व्यासस्यामिततेजसः ॥२

शृणु राजन् यथा भेदः कुस्पाण्डवयोरभूत् ।
राज्यार्थं द्यूतसंभूतो वनवासस्तथैव च ॥३

* * *

यथा च युद्धमभवत् पृथिवीक्षयकारकम् ।
तत् तेऽहं संप्रवक्ष्यामि पृच्छते भरतर्षभ ॥५

मृते पितरि ते वीरा वनादेत्य स्वमन्दिरम् ।
नचिरादेव विद्वांसो वेदे धनुषि चाभवन् ॥६ etc. (Mbh. I.55)

Briefly speaking the following are the main topics dealt with in the above list of contents :

1. Quarrel between Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas,
2. Distraction of Kauravas, and
3. Full victory of the Pāṇḍavas.

Vaiśampāyana distributes these three topics in the following sub-topics :

1. After the death of Pāṇḍu in the jungle his minor five sons with their elder mother coming back to the capital;
2. Education of all the sons of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛitarāṣṭra in scriptures as well as in the science of war-fare;
3. Attempt of Duryodhana to distract Pāṇḍava brothers;

4. Pāṇḍavas being sent by Duryodhana to live far off in a *jatu-gṛha*, the burning of the house and rescue of Pāṇḍavas with their mother through a tunnel;
5. The death of Hidimba Rākṣasa in the combat by the third Pāṇḍava Bhīma and his marriage with Hidimbā, sister of Hidimba;
6. In the disguise of Brāhmaṇas, Pāṇḍavas making residence in the Eka-cakra Nagarī, there the death of Baka Rākṣasa by Bhīma;
7. With brāhmaṇas Pāṇḍavas going to attend the svayamvara of Draupadī, daughter of king Drupada of Pāñcala country and there their marriage with her;
8. Pāṇḍavas coming back to Hastinapura with their mother and newly wedded wife;
9. To avoid conflict, by the order of Dhṛitarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍavas going to reside at Khāṇḍavaprastha, residing there for a number of years, victory of Pāṇḍavas on all fronts;
10. Arising a specific cause, Arjuna accepting forest-life for one year and one month;
11. After completing this span of time, Arjuna going to Dvāravatī and with the consent of Kṛṣṇa Arjuna usurping Subhadrā, the younger sister of Kṛṣṇa;
12. The burning of Khāṇḍava forest by Arjuna and rescue of Maya, the architect of dānavas;
13. Construction of a meeting hall by Maya for Pāṇḍavas in their capital, where Duryodhana being annoyed;
14. Proposal of gambling and defeat of Pāṇḍavas;
15. Pāṇḍavas going to forest for 12 years in open and one year in total disguise;
16. Completing 13 years Pāṇḍavas coming back and asking their share; flat refusal of Duryodhana and hence a destructive battle;

17. The total destruction of Kauravas;

18. Pāṇḍavas' victory.

And the proper story ends there.

Here it is quite clear that the real narration begins at the coming of Pāṇḍavas from the forest after the death of their father, and in the first instance, ends at the end of the 91st adhyāya of the Āśvamedhika-parvan, already shown above. This will help us in finding out a nucleus or an *Ur-Mahābhārata* Text. To begin from 55th adhyāya of the Ādi-parvan, we have to take in our consideration the introductory 54th adhyāya, that is, we have to start from the Amṛśāvatarāṇa sub-parvan of the Ādi-parvan, with the 1st śloka of the 3rd adhyāya. Our investigation, then, should be confined in the first eleven parvans with the 14th Āśvamedhika-parvan omitting Śānti and Anuśāsana parvans of a didactic nature of the Mbh. Then the number of the ślokas will be as it follows :

1. Ādi	6,205
2. Sabhā	2,390
3. Āranyaka	12,318
4. Virāṭa	1,824
5. Udyoga	6,063
6. Bhīṣma	5,402
7. Drona	8,142
8. Kārtṛa	3,871
9. Śalya	3,315
10. Sauptika	772
11. Strī	530
14. Āśvamedhika	2,743
	53,575

Thus the field of our investigation is confined only to 53,575 ślokas out of 78,675 of the whole of Mbh. (including the *Hari-vāṁśa*). We have to carve out the real *Bhārata* of 24,000 ślokas from the above 53,575 ones of those 12 parvans. It is a great problem before us as to what are those principles to be adopted to reach our desired goal.

One thing is quite clear that the Mbh. text is full of didactic and mythical matter scattered here and there, under which the historical matter is lying hidden. Truly speaking the *Mahābhārata* is an ākhyāna, as it is told in so many places in its text (I.2.235, 236, 238 etc.). In Sanskrit language, this word has specific meanings amongst which these are the technical ones : "2. Allusion to some old tale; 3. A tale, story, especially a legendary story, legend; 4. A legendary work such as the *Mahābhārata*". (Apte's Sans-Eng. Dictionary, 3rd edition, 1924). Here 'Allusion to some old tale' and 'legendary story' are such meanings which befit the existing Mbh. But Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpana* gives the definition as *ākhyānam pūrvavṛttoktih* : (6-211). Here 'Vṛitta' is nothing but the news pertaining to past incidents, it means, past historical incidents. The Mbh. in that sense is some-what more than an ākhyāna (a narrative of true incidents). Can we not get a true ākhyāna by deducting most of the didactic and all the mythical matter from the existing text of the Mbh. confined to above-mentioned 53,575 ślokas of those twelve parvans ? To achieve this goal we have first to mark out the form of didactic and mythical matter; 'didactic' means 'designed to instruct, esp. morally; containing precepts or doctrines;' and 'mythical' means pertaining to fable, a legend embodying primitive faith in the supernatural, an invented story, an imaginary person or thing. Thus these two words comprise in themselves Smṛti and Purāṇa works. Then to carve out historical facts, we have to discard such matter wherever it occurs, saving such moral instructions imparted in such a way that it does not disturb the flow of the narration. Again all sorts of myths are to be totally discarded, saving if they are confined only to similes aesthetically. Before the author there was a long chain of mythical literature from the beginning of the Vedic Samhitās as also Bardic literature. We find such similes as to the fights of Indra with several asuras, mention of Svarga and Naraka, and such other mythical things. It is to be kept in mind that in the historical narration of the incidents pertaining to Kurukūṭa, only natural and common possible features of life might have been before the author, saving the battle-descriptions, which were of a nature:

of poetical aspiration exaggerated in a fanciful but rather quite impossible combats. We are in a position to get a linked narration, pure and undisturbed. For this we have to delete :

1. Long didactic narrations such as *Vidura-nīti* and such others;
2. All narrations of the mythical type with all sorts of episodes and legendary tales from biggest to the smallest ones;
3. All sorts of adjectives of mythical nature such as

सत्यवतीसुत, धर्मपुत्र-धर्मसुत-धर्मज, मारुति-वायुपुत्र, पाकशासनि-वासवि-ऐन्द्रि, सूर्यपुत्र-सूर्यात्मज, कुम्भयोनि, भूमिपुत्री, वेदीजाता

and such others;

(In the case of 3 if other readings are available, or there is a possibility of emendations, we should not be so harsh to discard lines or ślokas; otherwise let them be discarded, if there is no fear of the break in the flow of narration. Classical metres are a production of a very late date and had no place in the original *Bhārata*. Full of charming poetry, those regular metres are a production of the full-fledged classical age.)

4. Ślokas composed in classical metres—*Upajāti*, *Puṣpitāgrā*, *Rathoddhatā*, *Mālinī* etc. of the classical period;

5. A part of a foot, half a verse, or even a śloka bearing such race-names such as *śaka-yavana* and others of later dates; and

6. Narratives, such descriptions or lists of the conquests of the places—countries—populations of *Pāñdavas* and place-names of holy places of later dates.

In the *Ādi*-parvan we get such visit-places where Arjuna went in his self-abduction of one year (not of twelve years) and a month with a vow to preserve celibacy, we find his marriages with Uluipi—a *Nāga* *Kanyā* and *Citrāngadā*—a *Gandharva*-*Kanyā*, they are to be silently discarded, even at the battle-field the presence and fighting of *Babrūvāhana*, Arjuna's son born in the *Gandharva*-

Kanyā-*Citrāngadā*. In the *Āraynyaka*-parvan the whole *Ghosayātrā* sub-parvan is of no use. Ṛṣis like *Nārada*, *Mārkanḍeya*, *Parasurāma* and such others of former times; *Yakṣas*, *Gandharvas*, *Kinnaras*, *Piśācas*, *Nāgas*, *Apsarases*, and such semi-godly persons, *Siddhas* and *Ākāśavāṇīs*; all these are not historical. If references of such persons are found any-where in the text, they are to be discarded; let it be in half a line, a śloka or even more ślokas. *Rākṣasas* were a race and there is no need to delete them; only their supernatural deeds are to be left off.

A puzzling problem before us is of godly or super-human characteristics of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Śiva*. It is quite easy to find out that wherever such narrations come, they are easily discardable, and their absence is very much helping us in restoring the flow of the narration. They are all inserted at later dates when both of them were established as supreme gods after the expiry of the old *Upaniṣadic* period.

As for *Bhagavad-gītā* (23 to 40 adhyāyas in the *Bhīṣma*-parvan) we are not in a position to include it wholly, or its any part, not only in the *Bhārata* but perhaps not even in the *Mahābhārata*. In the first adhyāya of the *Bg.* (in the 23rd in the *Bhīṣma*-parvan) it is clearly mentioned that the battle did already begin (*pravṛtte ṣastrasāmpāte*), whereas the battle began only after the completion of *Bg.* (i.e. at the end of the 40th adhyāya of *Bhīṣma*-parvan) in the subsequent second adhyāya (i.e. 42nd adhyāya of the *Bhīṣma*-parvan). It is worth noting that some ślokas of *Bg.* (1st adhyāya) are repeated in the 47th adhyāya of the *Bhīṣma*-parvan with some change, where they are more suitable. If we want to have a place of *Bg.* in this parvan, the proper place is in this 47th adhyāya. Truly speaking, whatever may be the case as regards the *Mbh.*, the *Bg.* is in no way a part of the *Bhārata*. It might be a purely metrical independent *Upaniṣadic* composition of repute, creation of some ancient date, comprising about one hundred ślokas only, coming in existence after the composition of *Bhārata*, and was inserted in the body of the *Mbh.*, already being in existence, perhaps not later than 6th century B.C. in its present extent of

700 ślokas. In the old text of the Mbh., further additions and interpolations were made up-to the time, when, still, Northern and Southern recensions were not afoot. Though the first entry of Yudhiṣṭhīra is found at the end of the 14th adhyāya of the Āśvamedhika-parvan, the full achievement of the victory is definitely at the end of the Āśvamedha sacrifice, after which Yudhiṣṭhīra enters the city as a samrāṭ. Here it is quite clear that Śānti and Anuśāsana parvans have no place in the Bhārata, most of the matter being of didactic as well as paurāṇika nature as told above. Again the Śānti-parvan has no connecting link with the Strī-parvan; on the contrary the Strī-parvan is directly connected with the Āśvamedhika-parvan, as it follows :

Strī : * ततः कुरुपतिर्धीमान् || 23c

..... प्रेतकृत्यमनन्तरम् || 24b

कृत्वोत्तार गङ्गायाः सलिलादाकुलेन्द्रियः || 24cd (Mbh. XI.27)

Āśva : कृतोदकं तु राजाने धृतराष्ट्रं युधिष्ठिरः ।

पुरस्कृत्य महाबाहुरुत्ताराकुलेन्द्रियः || १ (Mbh. XIV.1)

The last verses at the end of the Āśvamedha sacrifice are as it follows :

दीयतां भुज्यतां चेति दिवारात्रमवारितम् ।

तं महोत्सवसंकाशमतिहृष्टजनाकुलम् ।

कथथन्ति स्म पुरुषा नानादेशनिवासिनः || ३६

वर्षित्वा धनधाराभिः कामै रत्नैर्धनैस्तथा ।

विपाप्मा भरतश्चेष्टः कृतार्थः प्राविशत् पुरम् || ३७ (Mbh. XIV.91)

By removing all sorts of insertions, in the light of the above-mentioned conclusions, the number so arrived at is as it follows :

Numbered stanzas Half-stanza lines Two-line ślokas

1. Ādi	1,650	3,349	1,674 $\frac{1}{2}$
2. Sabhā	1,354	2,757	1,378 $\frac{1}{2}$
3. Āśanyaka	1,114	2,293	1,146 $\frac{1}{2}$
4. Virāṭa	1,050	2,161	1,080 $\frac{1}{2}$
5. Udyoga	2,712	5,517	2,758 $\frac{1}{2}$
6. Bhiṣima	3,277	6,818	3,409
7. Drona	5,837	11,979	5,989 $\frac{1}{2}$
8. Karna	2,204	4,624	2,312
9. Śalya	1,853	3,863	1,934
10. Sauptika	469	971	485 $\frac{1}{2}$
11. Strī	483	986	493
12. Āśvamedhika	606	1,241	620 $\frac{1}{2}$
	22,609	46,564	23,282

Thus totally 22,609 numbered ślokas can be restored. In this figure there are hundreds of three-line stanzas and a few one-line stanzas. If we count the ślokas of two halves each, we can easily reach to a figure 23,282 as shown above; figure 24,000 should be considered as a rough one just as the figure one hundred thousand is a rough one against the actual numbered figure 78,675 arrived at, from authentic editions of the Mbh. and the Harivāṁśa of the B.O.R. Institute of Poona, together.

: 2 :

It will be a hazardous task here to deal with every point of discarding in process of the restoration ; only a faint idea will suffice.

1. Ādi-parvan : Anukramanī, Parvasamgraha, Pauṣya, Pauloma and Āstika sub-parvans have no place. The text begins from the 54th adhyāya restoring the beginning as śrutvā tam dīrghasatrāya for śrutvā tu sarpasatrāya seeing the absurdity of a snake-sacrifice. (Vyāsa Muni might have reached the age of not more than eighty to hundred years. His pupil Valśāmpāyana's age might be of sixty to eighty years).

From the Āṁśavataraṇa sub-parvan, taking the 55th adhyāya and first 12 ślokas of the 56th adhyāya only, we have to reach the prose adhyāya 90th to take prose stanzas 6 to 96 in which the genealogy of the forefathers are narrated, coming to the entrance of Pāṇḍava boys with their widow mother Kuntī into the Hāstina-pura, including further progeny upto Āśvamedha-daita. Thence we have to go to the 117th adhyāya in the Sambhava sub-parvan, leaving aside metrical, somewhat irrelevant genealogy and episodes of Śakuntalā, Yayāti and Uttarayāyāta. In the Sambhava sub-parvan all the mythical births are of no use to the Bhārata text, as they are disturbing its historical validity. The Citraratha sub-parvan is quite spurious. In the opinion of late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, this sub-parvan is an interpolation (Ādi-parvan, p. 995). The mythical story of the former life of Draupadī and of her curse have no place in history. The Sundopasunda incident and marriages of Arjuna with Ulūpī and Citrāṅgadā, also have no place. In the Khaṇḍavādāha sub-parvan, mythical part is to be totally discarded. Only the

burning of the forest Khāṇḍava and saving of Maya Asura are to be kept, everything else is to be let go.

2. *Sabha-parvan* : Mythical portions, wherever coming, even the presence of so many ancient ṛṣis in the Sabhā, descriptions of several celestial Sabhās, and descriptions of digvijaya of Pāṇḍavas in different regions—all these short and long—hamper the historicity of the text and hence are to be removed.

3. *Āranyakā-parvan* : This parvan is full of several episodes. Excluding those episodes, there is a huge mass of matter not befitting a historical poem. Arjuna's going, to get astras, to Indraloka is nothing but a legendary tale. Possibly, he went on a tour to secure the aid of friendly rulers of countries outside Bharatavarṣa. He completed his job and then only returned. Kīrata-Yuddha and Indralokābhigamana, thus, have to be neglected. Long long lists of holy places and visits of the remaining Pāṇḍavas of those places, Yakṣayuddha, Ajāgara sub-parvan, Ghoṣayatrā, Mṛga-svapnabhaya, Vribhidroṇīka ākhyāna and Kuṇḍalāharana are all to be discarded. From 12,318 ślokas of this parvan we are in a position to get 1,114 ślokas only.

4. *Virāṭa-parvan* : Though keeping consistency, this parvan has so many ślokas of the mythical nature, and 1,050 are to be kept out of 1,824 ślokas.

5. *Udyoga-parvan* : In this parvan Vidurāṇḍī in the Prajāgara sub-parvan, and Sanat-sujātīya sub-parvan, being of didactic nature have no place. Kārṇa-Kṛṣṇa-talk and Ambopākhyāna narrated by Bhīṣma are not in a position to be the relevant parts of this parvan. One thing is noticeable in the 156th adhyāya that the dialogue between Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Saṁjaya begins there. Here no Divyadrṣṭi is mentioned, which has been introduced in the next parvan as an after-thought. Last 2 adhyāyas 196 & 197 have their proper place at the end.

6. *Bhīṣma-parvan* : From first 41 adhyāyas a little portion is only relevant. Jambūkhaṇḍa-varṇana and Bhūmi sub-parvans are of no use. In the *Bhagavad-gītā* sub-parvan, introductory part of

the Bg. is only useful. 18 adhyāyas of the Bg. (23rd to 40th) are not found relevant to the context and hence are out of place. From the 19th adhyāya to the 22nd (up to first four ślokas only) Senā-vyūha has been found fully arranged and in the beginning of the 42nd adhyāya Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks Saṁjaya : "thus both the armies being already arranged who were the first among Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas to strike ?" and then and then only begins the battle. From the rest part of the parvan, ślokas of mythical and irrelevant nature are to be discarded. Noticeable thing from this parvan is that now no episodes are seen.

7. *Droṇa-parvan* : Keeping the introductory war-news in the beginning intact, all the ślokas of mythical nature are to be discarded. It is worth noting that as many as 5,837 ślokas out of 8,142 are found genuine.

8. *Karṇa-parva* : Keeping the introductory war-news in the beginning intact, all the ślokas of mythical nature are removable.

9. *Śalya-parvan* : Keeping the introductory war-news in the beginning intact, all the ślokas of mythical nature, with a long description of Balarāma's visit to the holy places of India, have no place.

10. *Sauptika-parvan* : Pieces of mythical nature are to be discarded.

11. *Śtrī parvan* : Pieces of mythical nature are to be neglected.

12. *Āśvamedhika-parvan* : The whole sub-parvan namely Anugītā is quite irrelevant, a very late composition after a long interval after the incorporation of the Bg. as also remaining adhyāyas after the 91st one.

In carving out the *Bhārata* text we face the Divya-drṣṭi of Saṁjaya. In the 2nd adhyāya of the Bhīṣma-parvan the revered Muni Vyāsa comes to the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra and offers Divyadrṣṭi—eye divine by which he can have the power to see the battle sitting at his own residence. Dhṛtarāṣṭra was not prepared to see the horrible scenes of the battle, hence Vyāsa bestowed upon Saṁjaya that eye-

divine, and Samjaya narrated as if they are the eye-seen incidents, to the blind king, in four meetings : 1. on the tenth night, after the fall of Bhīṣma; 2. on the 15th night after the fall of Drona; 3. on the 17th night, after the fall of Kārtṛi; and 4. in the morning of the 19th day. We find such references of his visits on the proper places. In the words of late Dr. Belvalkar we can say that —“From another point of view, the author of *Mahābhārata* could not have wished that all this graphic account of the war should pass down to posterity as an account given by one who never visited actual scene on the spot. Samjaya is hence correctly conceived as an active combatant as well as a “special war-correspondent” who, by reason of Vyāsa’s boon, was able to secure all the advantages that an expert army of camera-men, radios, especially chartered aeroplanes and television would give to his twentieth-century prototypes. He was in fact more favoured than those in certain respects. He could accurately reproduce the thoughts...of others...He could visualize gods, gandharvas and divine sages, ghosts, goblins and even the souls of the dead mounting heavenwards. He could hear, as an individual third party, whatever was confidential uttered between two persons, even though situated at a distance from him. He could hear voices in heaven, heard only by privileged persons.....It may also be added that Samjaya is able to describe what Duryodhana said to Bhīṣma in his war-camp.....and what Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas said to him in the same place a few days later.....It is not mentioned that Samjaya accompanied the trio back to the water-pool, yet he is able to report the exact words that passed, not only between Duryodhana and the trio, but also between the party of hunters who overheard this conversation and Bhīmasena in the Pāṇḍava’s camp to whom they report it.....” (Annals of B.O.R.I., Vol. XXVII, P.P.314-16)

Here we can see that in the 156th adhyāya of the Udyoga-parvan Dhṛitarāṣṭra asks Samjaya to narrate each and every thing that happened from camping of the armies onward, which automatically proves that the *divya-dṛṣṭi* was a secondary later thought. Some same ślokas are found repeated in the 16th adhyāya of the Bhīṣma-parvan also.

This is nothing but poetic genius. The details given by Samjaya are so minute as well as so exaggerated that truly speaking, in most of the cases, they are quite impossible. To cover the poet’s striking ability of presentation the compiler of the Mbh. introduced this miraculous *Divya-dṛṣṭi*, which was not originally meant by the poet; he only introduced the character of Samjaya artificially. Truly speaking the *Bhārata Samhitā* was an epic poem based on purely historical basis, and was not a mythical purāṇa. The first compiler gave it a mythical touch and then first draft of the *Mahābhārata* came in existence. The text so created was in due course supplemented by several interpolations at different times till its separation into two chief recensions Northern and Southern. There was no stop here, those recensions also were independently supplemented by subsequent interpolations and further more there became an admixture of different recensions also. The Bg. is a clear interpolation; though it was an old Upanishadic text, in its short version, prevalent prior to the formation of the oldest Mbh. text. The Bg. of the present extent of 700 ślokas became a part of the Mbh., when Lord Kṛṣṇa was already accepted as Supreme God.

: 3 :

In the Ādi-parvan and at other two places *Jayo nāmetihāso-yam*—a history named *Jaya* has been indicated and its extent has been also known. Such a *Jaya Samhitā* of 8,800 ślokas was not unknown, and fortunately we get a verse of the following nature :

अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च ।
अहं वेद्यि शुको वेत्ति संजयो वेत्ति वा न वा ॥

(Chitrashala Edition of Mbh., I. 1.81)

[There is a common belief prevalent among Indian pandits that this number of 8,800 indicates “kūṭa-ślokas”, but it is worth noting that in the B.O.R.I. critical edition of the Mbh. no ‘kūṭa-śloka’ is found.]

In the critical edition of the Mbh. this couplet is found as an interpolation within an interpolation, found in two Kashmirian Devanāgarī and other few Devanāgarī MSS. and in the commentary

of Ratnagarbha only. Thus it can be easily said that this verse is not so old as the critically edited version, still however there might have been some old *paramparā*, according to which some one versified that *paramparā* and interpolated the same at a later age. Whatever it may be, the idea of 8,800 verses is definitely workable, and with confidence I am now in a position to derive this little version of 8,800 ślokas from the *Bhārata Samhitā*, which has been carved out from the *Mbh.* as shown above at its proper place. I think, the extent of carvable 8,800 ślokas is perhaps nothing but the *Jaya Samhitā*. It has been said above that the *Bhārata Samhitā* is a historical epic, in which the incidents narrated are an admixture of history and fanciful epic poetry. Long long narrations of the *Bhārata* battle are, truly speaking, nothing but a result of poetical genius. Duals so presented are quite absurd. It has been found that if we totally discard that long long exaggerated war-descriptions, given by Samjaya to the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, we lose nothing. A short narrative is quite sufficient. And we are fortunate to get such short narrations in the beginnings of the Bhīṣma, Drona, Karna and Śalya parvans. Thus we are in a position to get a little nucleus or *Ur-Bhārata* (*Ur-Mahābhārata*) in three successive narrations as :

1. From the 54th adhyāya of the Ādi-parvan with the 1st prose stanza of the 3rd adhyāya, to the end of the 154th adhyāya of the Udyoga-parvan, with its 196 and 197 adhyāyas,
2. Summaries of the war-narrations found in the beginnings of the Bhīṣma-Drona-Karna and Śalya parvans, with the portion narrating the cremation of the dead in the Strī-parvan, and
3. The narration of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, at the end of which Yudhiṣṭhīra enters the Capital Hāstīnapura at the end of the 91st adhyāya of the Aśvamedhika parvan.

Here it will be seen that 1st and 3rd things are common in the *Bhārata* as well as in the *Jaya*, and, in a sense, it is purely a poetic history. In the *Bhārata* text the narration in the mouth of

Samjaya giving very minute exaggerated details of the battle, is a true poetry rather than a history, while summaries of the battle given at the beginnings of the Bhīṣma-Drona-Karna and Śalya parvans are certainly of a historical nature which is, perhaps, the original narration of the battle. The *Jaya Samhitā*, thus arrived at, is a smallest unit, the *Bhārata Samhitā* is a revised version, adding the exaggerated and impossible battle-commentary in the form of a dialogue between Samjaya and the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The extent of ślokas for the *Jaya Samhitā*, so arrived at, is as it follows :

Pravans	Extracted	No. of ślokas	Lines	No. as two-line ślokas
1. Ādi	1,650	3,349	1,674 $\frac{1}{2}$	
2. Saṁbhā	1,354	2,757	1,378 $\frac{1}{2}$	
3. Āranyaka	1,114	2,293	1,146 $\frac{1}{2}$	
4. Virāṭa	1,050	2,161	1,080 $\frac{1}{2}$	
5. Udyoga	2,387	4,854	2,427	
6. Bhīṣma	39	80	40	
7. Drona	119	242	121	
8. Karna	117	242	121	
9. Śalya	58	123	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	
10. Strī	123	260	130	
11. Aśvamedhika	606	1,241	620 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	8,617	17,602	8,801	

As for the time of composition of the *Jaya Samhitā* of 8,800 ślokas, possibly it might be as early as the time of the king Janamejaya and the sage Vaiśampāyana. Vaiśampāyana might have prepared a revised recension in the form of the *Bhārata* text, adding the long long dialogues between Samjaya and the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra giving it the extent of 23,282 ślokas reaching to the round figure of 24,000. Third is surely the *Mahābhārata* version which might have its extent of not 78,675, but less than that excluding even the *Bhagavad-gītā*, *Vidur-nīti*, *Sanat-sujātiya*, *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana* parvans, *Anugītā* and such portions of later dates. The fourth may be the *Mbh.* version comprising the above additions including now the *Harivamśa* as its Khila parvan, which is purely a purāṇa. Most

of the smaller as well as bigger episodes and last four major parvans are, perhaps, older than this fourth stage. And fourth stage is later than the *Ramayana* attributed to the sage Vālmīki, while the *Ramayana* is of a considerable later age than the first, second and third stages, i.e. the *Jaya*, the *Bhārata Samhitā* and earlier form of the *Mbh.* of the time of Pāṇini.

: 4 :

It is a strange thing that the text of the *Jaya Samhitā*, so arrived at, is not a collection, but a selection of short and long passages from their places in the proper *Mbh.* giving a continuous chain of the story from the beginning to the end. To a reader it will give pleasure of reading a work as if it is of a single author. Incidences narrated are in a natural form, which would be in no way un-historical. We find poetical touches at several places, but we would not find exaggerations. It might be true, combats of Bhīma with Hidimba, Baka, Kīrmīra, Jāṭasura and Kīchakas might be felt somewhat exaggerated as again the defeat of Kauravas by Brhannadā in the Virata-paryan. In the latter case the original theme might be nothing but the recognition of Pāṇḍavas by the Kauravas and then latter's retirement. In the case of Bhīma we feel exaggeration, and should take it somewhat lightly. In the conflict with Jāṭasura, that asura takes away Yudhiṣṭhīra, Nakula and Sahadeva; Sahadeva somehow gets away from the clutches of Jāṭasura. Thing might be such that these three Pāṇḍavas might have been caught asleep.

Here one thing is to be worth noting in the case of emendations. As explained in the beginning most of them are meant to remove the absurdity of un-natural births of those particular characters. All the emended readings marked with asterisks(*) have been, in some cases, taken from the reading-material given in the notes. In other cases they are entirely new, befitting to the context. A table showing all the cases is given separately, which will help the scholars to consider the validity or otherwise. There the readings taken from the notes are given in bold types.

No doubt, this attempt is one man's show. If there is anything good, it goes to the original author—he might be the sage Kṛṣṇa

Dvāipāyana Vyaṣa or, say, Valśāmpāyana or x y z. If there is anything unworthy, the responsibility lies with the redactor. Still however, I have full confidence that the story of one of the famous fratricidal wars has been represented here in its original form—original language, and it cannot perhaps be represented in any other way.

Excluding emendations, the text represents the version adopted in the B. O. R. I. edition of Poona, differing slightly in disjoining the words for more clear grasp. To even ordinary readers it will help in solving consonantal euphony.

Concordance : No table of the concordance has been given separately. The numbers of the adhyāyas and ślokas have been printed on the left side of the text at their proper places on each and every page; where necessary, even a foot noting 'a' 'b' 'c' 'd' 'e' 'f' adjacent to the numbers of ślokas, thus saving not less than 150 pages.

Here first and foremost thanks go to late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and his learned followers of the first rank who brought out the critical edition of the *Mbh.* with years of heavy labour and made the publication easily available to the oriental scholarly world through our foremost institution—the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. This authentic edition made the redactor's task easiest, as far as the version is concerned, historically it being the oldest so far known.

Next, for the publication of this new venture I am extremely thankful to our Gujarat Research Society—especially its president Dr. Mrs. Madhuribhen R. Shah, without whose help it was not easy to see the work printed. I am also very much thankful to the members of the governing body of the Society, who sanctioned the publication.

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